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Anthropology of Everyday: Transformation of Human Behavior Under Technological and Social Change

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Abstract. The article uses an approach of romantic psychology developed by Alexander Luria to reflect on the changes in education and everyday consciousness as a result of technological and social-historical transformations of the way of life. It focuses on the fact that the pandemic has become a catalyst for the emergence of blended education. The article discusses the role of cultural-historical psychology in the elaboration of variable education as an expansion of opportunities for personality development. Reasons for repressions of psychological science in totalitarian systems that suppress various manifestations of social and psychological diversity are interpreted.

Keywords: variable education; blended education; evolution; adaptation; pre-adaptation; repressed science; romantic psychology; threshold of unpredictability; construction of worlds

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The World of Blended Education

In our country as in others around the world, the idea that if someone dives online, he will never return offline, belongs to the category of legends.

To put it simply: when a person has two hands — and he is told to use only one of them — he will not perceive it adequately, will be sad about it. So far, the mankind has developed several hands in the sphere of education. One of them is online, the other — offline.

Thus, in the nearest future we will find ourselves in another world. This world can be toughly called a world of blended education. It’s necessary to underline: not blended learning as one of the technologies, but blended education that is directly related to transformation of reality. Evolutionally this focus is more vantage than choosing only one format: either online or offline education (Asmolov, 2012).

J. R. R. Tolkien wrote a book The Hobbit, or There and Back Again (1937). Like its main character Bilbo Baggins, young generation today has a possibility to wander to and fro. And no matter how much they could be disposed to online life, this virtual reality inevitably encounters many challenges of real life.

Quality of Online Learning Environment

It’s noteworthy that very unusual things happened to students (to a greater extent than to teachers). Usually you enter the lecture hall — and I have been entering it at the Faculty of Psychology of Moscow State University for 50 years in a row — and you see how many people have come. Usually they are about the same number.

Then, when we started to “zoom,” was surprising to find more students than usual offline. And they ask unusual questions. “When we met before you did not ask such questions” — I said to them. “We are from St. Petersburg University, we were given a link and attended your lecture” — they retorted.

It means that open educational space appeared, which did not exist before. This reality is much more adequate for the students, or digital natives, rather than for myself, who is more likely to be a digital migrant.
Does the Child Really Need all this?

Every time we ask this smart question: “Does the child need this?” — we fall into a trap. After all, what the child needs is often voiced by us and he responds by nodding or shaking his head. But this is always a big secret. Very often we take up a role of over-protector and begin to think that the child should live the same life that we’ve lived. But he lives his life.

We always, it should be repeated, want our children to be like us. And this is correct, because without this we will not understand each other and the space of differences will be so big that the value and digital divide will scatter generations in different directions. But simultaneously with the space of differences, there is also a space of similarities. And when you say about your child: “He is like me, he in many ways accepts what I do and shares what I dream about, but he is incomparable with me,” you thereby emphasize that he astonished you by going his own way springing all sorts of surprises.

This is true of the First of September. As the Minister of Education Sergei Kravtsov promised, this day will not be a network reality, but a reality given to us in senses, literally. That is, there will be flowers, the first teacher and a celebratory assembly. Rather, with caution: “All these moments can be.” Because everything he says can be a complete distortion of reality. We cannot predict what will happen. But there is a rhythm of decades. It was once again proclaimed by the Minister of Education as a supporter of normal conservatism in the world of education. Education, thank God, is one of the most conservative systems on earth.

Technology of E-learning

This question, I would say, is related to the anthropology of everyday life. It is impossible to ignore the fact that families have different opportunities. The pandemic situation showed that the parents of primary school students suffered from the greatest burden. In addition to all the worries of parenting they had to take up an almost full-time job as teachers. But this is not enough. How to organize distant learning in a big family?

For example, if I have one child in the fifth grade and another in the second and they are torn between different iPods, tablets and computers — this is a lucky family. And if a family has one computer for all or — if to run into the extreme — one mobile phone for all? Thus, we are let down by the modern civilization. And not just once.

What earlier seemed to be redundant and luxurious became as necessary as air. It is essential that the government should think over, literally, an algorithm for providing each family with equipment for e-learning. If it fails to solve this problem, we will face a high degree of social inequality and lack of social justice — a real situation that can be seen now in education as well in the country on the whole.

Contemporary education is a key factor in three processes.
One of them is called the *social lift*: due to quality education a freshman can become the president of the country. Or would prefer to be the world’s best animal tamer or great traveler. It should be remembered that we and our children have different success models. Another one is a *social mixer*, when different layers are mixed due to education.

But there is also the third process, the saddest one — a *social pit* — when poor quality education deprives a person of chances for success and development in social life. Obviously, this is a tragic and deplorable situation.

## Communication

Communication is one of the key things. Currently our children have found themselves in a situation of network communication. This is a specific type of communication, a quick one, with a big amount of new phenomena emerging there. When the teacher is bad, the fourth-grade student can say: “Come on! I will ban him.” And he will go on with his own business. That is, we must understand that a different communication in a different language has appeared on the Internet. At the same time, no one rejects face to face communication. It will always be preserved, just take other forms.

Evolution does not favor “narrow-gauge” ways; it wins when it goes along mixed routes. Therefore, the new and old forms of communication that are familiar to us will coexist. The communication situation will be expanding rather than narrowing.

We have such examples in the history of culture. Silent movies were replaced by talking pictures. And the unique actors who excelled at communication without speech (that is called non-verbal communication by the psychologists) became incredibly important and necessary.

Let’s have a look at non-verbal communication that is prevalent today, how we communicate with different signs. It’s noteworthy that a new evolutionary stage is starting in the history of mankind. A revolutionary leap forward is ready to occur. As it is sometimes reported, the world is moving from the Gutenberg era to the Zuckerberg era.

A leap always portends a big amount of risks, among them anthropological ones. Human lives might be destroyed — it seems to be unavoidable. What happened to the monks when the printing press was invented? They ceased to be only chroniclers and many of them lost their jobs. It happens from century to century, from millennium to millennium.

When a new technology appears, it is declared to be a solution to all human problems. Therefore, I feel ironic towards the colleagues who believe that artificial intelligence and machine learning will pave the way to an era of global happiness for some and global distress for others.

In this regard I advise to reread more often the work of one of my favorite writers *The Tale of the Fisherman and the Fish*. Artificial intelligence is often perceived like a goldfish that is ready to make our desires fulfilled. Do you remember the fate of the old woman who was left in front of a broken-down trough? From a psychological point of view
this tale is about an inadequate level of claims. In fact, this is exactly what happens with technology these days.

I would like to remind you of an episode from the movie *Moscow Does Not Believe in Tears*, when the character exclaims: “What radio! There will be only television!” We are in 2020 now. Has his prediction come true? The same refers to the future of any technology.

Nowadays there are textbooks, books, non-verbal and face-to-face communication. Therefore, many horror stories of our era proclaim that the world is changing and we must be ready for it. Thus, the key task of the school is to prepare the child for the change. If we don’t, we will fail.

**Problem of Teachers**

There is no average temperature in a hospital as well as standard prescription in education. When we deal with a talented teacher, a psychology genius, who is able to assist a student in developing his individual self, everything will work out — difficult as it might be.

In school with its atmosphere of human meaning and spirit, a true professional will succeed in finding such an activity for an introvert girl who scares everything and prefers to stay locked in herself, that will help her feel like a queen. Dealing with introversion shouldn’t be hasty. I don’t trust such innovations as speed reading. I feel the same about quick thinking. The history of the ancient world has proved that this is a road to nowhere.

The question is how to train such a talented and efficient teacher. A stumbling block on this way is conservatism of teachers’ training institutes that are currently outpaced by schools in their development. The latter are constantly dealing with angry parents and insightful students. The pedagogical institutes, on the contrary, remained to be ivory towers. They train teachers who could work in the middle of the previous century. And this is a problem. Children became different.

If we want our country to be happy, we should start by creating a teacher who will help our children and parents.

Liberal arts are gradually coming to Russian schools. For me, this area of education is primarily based on choice. When we are engaged in liberal arts — including mathematics — we give cultural content to people. The school must be a place that provides dialogue of cultures. This way is paved by liberal arts.

To date, only some pedagogical universities are beginning to tackle these areas. It is developed at St. Petersburg State University; an interesting format of training in the style of liberal arts was introduced at the Academy of Civil Service under the President of the Russian Federation (RANEPA). The rector of Moscow City Pedagogical University Igor Mikhailovich Remorenko puts a special emphasis on this as well. That is, the system is moving forward.

But this movement has not yet acquired the wide scope. At the state level, everything rests on the reflection of the tragedy of pedagogical universities in Russia. In this
respect I always quote the words of my friend, the poet Naum Korzhavin, who once said: “The death of the Soviet Union is prepared in pedagogical universities.” By and large, he was right. I don’t want to talk about sad but if this problem is not solved, we will soon face the monstrous phenomenon of teaching lumpenization. And then — no one will care about liberal arts any longer.

School has ceased to be the only monopoly source of children socialization. It has never fully been such but played a dominant role. Nowadays a huge number of children growing sources are springing into existence. And many parents choose family education as a form of raising their offsprings. And this can be justified. If parents dare and manage to give their children a high-quality education — good luck and Godspeed!

But school is not only about the transmission of knowledge. School is a place where generations meet, it is a place of the dialogue between teachers, children and parents, children with each other. It was formed historically that without it the opportunities for communication in primary school or among adolescents are decreased.

Other places for adolescents to communicate with each other like communication in adolescent subcultures deprive the school of its role as the only transmitter in the world of socialization. But at the same time there are schools that the graduates are willingly visit — over and over again. Even 15–20 years after graduation.

## Childhood is Life Itself

Everyone has different perception of what childhood is. You say to your beloved: “My baby” and at the same time look at her gray hair. And for you she is still your child. A child lives and does not stop living in each of us. The child has fewer stereotypes and is more sensitive to life diversity.

Therefore, in my heart of hearts I feel disappointed when I hear people saying that childhood is a preparation for adult life. No, childhood is life itself. Life that never ends. That is why we not only come from childhood (a classic phrase) — but we remain in childhood and see its value and importance for development.

This is one of the reasons why Janusz Korczak, a genius for all time, wrote the book *When I am Little Again*. This is one of the reasons why it was so great as a child and so difficult to admit adulthood even past the age of 70. Although behind this there is sometimes a dream that you have parents by your side who are responsible for you and love you as no one did.

The word “parents” is used symbolically in this context. Friends, parents, other precious people. When they see and accept a child in you, their communication with you takes up a form of a completely different pattern, it is embroidered in a different way.

In 1972 a situation happened to me that affected me positively. It is related to the topic *My Favorite Teachers*. One of them, Alexander Romanovich Luria, asked me to hand over the manuscript of the book to Lev Semyonovich Vygotsky’s wife. And we were supposed
to meet somewhere in the park. When she agreed with Alexander Romanovich about
a meeting with me, they had the following dialogue:

— How will I recognize him? — Vygotsky’s widow asked, referring to me.

**Psychology as a Science of Constructing Worlds**

I have always wanted my teachers to create such a psychological science that would be
soul-ology. I have always dreamt psychology to be psychology of soul rather than psy-
chology of psyche. And this, to a great extent, is coming true. Psychology as the science
of constructing worlds, psychology that has become a reality — this is one of the things
that I did, am doing and will go on doing while I am strong enough.

In 1982, I published a small article in MC, which was entitled *Psychologist in the Soviet
Union as a Smile of the Cheshire Cat*. There is a smile, but there is no cat. The fact that
I was able to construct, together with my wonderful colleagues, the practical psychology
of education in the USSR and Russia, the fact that psychologists appeared as masters
in supporting individuality and diversity even in spite of the fact that there are few of them — this is what I have always dreamt of.

Every graduate of the Faculty of Psychology in 1972 dreamt of becoming a bit
of Vygotsky, a bit of Luria, a bit of Kahneman. Time passes, I will be 72 next year. And I ask
myself the question: how much — or not much — have you managed to fulfill? And, paradoxically, brooding over this question, I feel calm (Luria, 1982).

Psychology in the Soviet Union witnessed different stages of its development. Intellectual professionals (not cold-hearted ones) have always realized that there is nothing
more important in the world than understanding the laws of behavior of various complex
systems. For them, psychology has been the science of changeability. As well as genetics.
At the same time the sciences of changeability are combatted by totalitarian systems.
In spite of their differences, both psychology and genetics had the periods of merciless
pressures.

Psychology in the Soviet Union had different, very profound scientific schools. Regardless of difficulties it made its way through the asphalt of time. It survived the period
of repressed science. But due to the amazing achievements and endeavors of Soviet psy-
chologists we are recognized throughout the world today. For example, many of the best
school practices that are widespread in the United States or Finland are based on the ideas
of Soviet psychology.

I joined the “salt mines” of public education in June 1988, at the request of the head
of the USSR State Committee on Public Education Gennady Alekseevich Yagodin. He
offered me to invest my efforts into the beginning of practical psychology of education
in the country. Did I succeed? Yes, I did. Did I want it to be more effective, with a higher
professional level of psychologists, so that no patient would ever wish to run away from
them? Of course, I did.
My second victory lies in the fact that contemporary Russian education speaks the language of variable education. It is rewarding to know that you have offered the world your own language and your own terminology: variable education, development according to the student's individual trajectories, etc.

I have a very positive attitude to the period from 1992 to 1998, which many call the Time of Trouble. Because the teachers had opportunities to innovate. Without financial opportunities, though. In other words, no matter what is said about this time, it was a period that gave rise to the transformation of the education system in Russia. If I have at least the slightest contribution into it — it makes me happy.

And a few words about failures. The romantic illusion that it is possible to change the education of Russia without changing its totalitarian system has been completely destroyed. I still hope that education boosts the country development. However, my dream of Russia moving from a culture of utility to a culture of dignity has not yet come true. Therefore, we failed to transform education into the most valuable sphere when a teacher, like a doctor, becomes a person with the highest status in the country, when people tip their hats to teachers, doctors and priests.

There was a lot of sound criticism. It continues even now, when we join efforts with Alexander Adamskiy, Artem Soloveichik and other colleagues to develop variable education. This work is always criticized as many people involved in education are solo singers. Choral songs about the education development are not good ones.

I have a peculiar attitude towards those Internet publications that say that the “Asmolovs” have destroyed Russian education. Needless to say, these words are hurtful, bitter and painful. Although, when they carry it too far, it first causes a shock, and then a smile. One of the critics called me a leader (I was flattered to be named by such a word) of liberal fascism and social darwinism in Russia. Then he wrote that Asmolov had thought it out when he communicated with Bukharin. It is clear that I have never met Bukharin — for obvious reasons.

I consider these people to be fanatics, they combat the “Asmolovs,” but in reality these attacks cause the destruction of our children’s future. They want the world to be unchanged as it was millions of years ago. Maybe this is not bad but, on the other hand, it would lead to a kind of Groundhog Day. These people are so combative that they are longing to live in the past — and I reckon they can succeed in it. How do I feel about them? I treat them psychotherapeutically. I sympathize with them. Because, as it is said in the famous work: “Forgive them; for they know not what they do.”

What is infantilism? This is an escape from decision making. When today they talk about infantilism, in fact, it is connected with the phenomenon of responsibility aversion — as it has always been at all times. The child says: “Why are you asking me to do this? I can’t do it, I’m a wee child.”

Infantilism is also associated with the phenomenon of prospect collapse. When you start living your happy childhood day. Even a special term appeared — prospecticide, that is, what kills prospects, by analogy with suicide. In a pandemic situation the risks of prospecticide have risen. At this point the escape into infantilism occurs. Because
as long as you are infantile you still have a future. And virtualization of reality affects these processes. It develops a reversibility effect in a child. In analogy with a computer game: the child can win and if he loses, he can replay.

One of the risks of virtual reality is when you give gadgets the ability to make decisions and thereby your mind loses its faculties. For example, instead of counting $6 \times 9$ in your head, you use a computer thus making your brain lose its powers. This is a dangerous phenomenon.

It results in a great degree of helplessness: without our virtual assistants we find ourselves in a situation of social asphyxia. A phenomenon of phantom pain appears: when you left your phone at home you feel so bad as if your arm was cut off. Some of my colleagues believe that this kind of degradation is already beginning. But we should blame ourselves for that rather than computers or gadgets.

I haven’t heard of such scales in human history that could precisely weigh our gains and losses. As we said technology brings new reality and new changes. And what the Internet, artificial intelligence, neural networks and machine learning bring to our lives has never happened before. Why is that so? Because they have an effect their creators haven’t thought about. This is the Pygmalion effect. Something was created but no one knows exactly — what is it?

A key feature of these technologies is that they provide a higher degree of freedom. You can write something with a pen. Or at least, if someone attacks you in a dark alley you can use it for self-defense. Thus, we have two ways of using it.

How many ways can IT technologies be used? Few people know. Therefore, another characteristic feature of IT technologies is multiplying the unpredictable. The technologies have become social phenomena that change people’s lives rather than instrumental or technical ones.

Using the language of evolutionists, elaboration of these technologies led to a huge leap of *homo sapiens* development. What lies ahead? Will today’s younger generation say that they have found the missing link between the ape and man — and this link is their parents? Time will show. The winners are those who are willing to take risks.

**Frightening Unpredictability?**

There is a fear of entering an open door. Unpredictability and generation of greater uncertainty. And instead of working with this unpredictability and using it as a resource for development we start to run away from it, as we run from changes. We are afraid of our pre-adaptation and it prepares us for the future and for working with these technologies. We are beginning to limit our use of Internet, we are beginning to consider technology as a means to lead to total control; though. It should be repeated, it is not technologies that should be blamed for the emergence of the “Big Brother,” but human beings, like you and me (Asmolov, Shekhter, & Chernorizov, 2017).
I always point out that the individual pre-adaptation is a price for the species development. When people take risks, when they act like a trickster or jester, like Pyotr Chaadaev or Andrei Dmitrievich Sakharov or Janusz Korchak (2020) or Viktor Frankl, their payment for making human life better is their life, their theory, their ideology.

I am not so naive as to argue that everyone manifests it the way Chaadaev (he is Chatsky from *Woe from Wit*) or Don Quixote did. But as long as there are such heroes, we are sure that those who are willing to take risks can win in unpredictable situations. Those who evade from risks in such situations tend to lose.

Therefore, an evolutionary strategy of placing a stake on unpredictability is a victorious strategy. As progress on this planet is an increase in diversity.

Arkady Strugatsky wrote a book *It is difficult to be God*. My favorite formula is: “It’s difficult to be a man.” At all times. New generations have much more opportunities than we had. To characterize the new generation that speaks about Russia freely and clearly, I use a non-scientific term *unbeaten generation*. When the generation appears in which you are not called a parasite, as Brodsky was for having written *The Pilgrims* and many other of his poems — this generation has more chances than ours. Due to what is happening in the world currently. But it’s one thing to have chances and another thing to take advantage of them.

I have an utopian hypothesis, which has not been shared with anyone yet. Half-joke, half-truth. There are two directions for changing history. One is called *bombism* and the other is *bardism*.

Bombism is when Zhelyabov, who “didn’t give Perovskaya enough sleep,” takes a bomb, thinking that if “we destroy the whole world to the core,” we will thereby save it.

Bardism is a unique, free movement of people like Bulat Okudzhava, Alexander Galich, Vladimir Vysotsky, Yuri Vizbor. These were people who followed the principle of “internal emigration” (as Anna Andreyevna Akhmatova put it) in Russian kitchens and around the fire, where they created what Yuri Lotman called “the laboratory of life,” a space of free development. Nobody understands: but for these professionals no perestroika would have happened.

“We — by name — will remember everyone // Who raised their hand!” — Galich sang about Pasternak, who was destroyed for *Doctor Zhivago*. I cannot answer the question whether today’s twenty-year-olds will raise their hand if they are told to condemn Pasternak or Andrei Dmitrievich Sakharov or not. I am not completely sure whether they will pass this test or draw conclusions. Most never draw conclusions. As it is very difficult to be a human being.

There is a wonderful formula I love very much: “If I am not for myself, who will be for me? If I am only for myself, what am I? And if not now, when?” These famous words of Hillel, dating back to the beginning of the first millennium of the new era, are very important.

I would advise a young person — and indeed any person — to clearly understand that every choice is a choice of himself. Whatever is chosen. Choosing a career is choosing
oneself. Choosing a girlfriend is choosing oneself, not just her. The decision to go to the Senate Square is also a choice of oneself.

Whatever we do, we choose ourselves. And we pay for this choice primarily with the fate of our loved ones and our own fate. And there is no such a yardstick that can be used to measure happiness or success.

What has the Pandemic Taught Us?

The pandemic has undoubtedly taught me (like many others) several important lessons. When you as a crisis researcher talk about crises for a long time — this is one situation. Another situation is when you become a crisis practitioner and start living in a crisis situation in the full meaning of the word.

Paradoxical as it may seem, but the pandemic served as an occasion for me to reflect on what we are talking about today. In a crisis situation, the winners are those systems that value human life most of all, like Albert Schweitzer did. The systems that prioritize economy and consider a man to be a means rather than a purpose, that are guided by a formula “The end justifies the means” ascribed to the Jesuit general Ignatius of Loyola, — such systems will lose.

The pandemic confirmed the correctness of my idea of preadaptation as readiness for something that actually does not exist and cannot be. You can imagine how important it is for a researcher to confirm a hypothesis.

The pandemic taught me to cherish face-to-face communication more than I did before. I am longing for hours of communication with my loved ones, my students, disciples, researchers. It troubles me not to be able to do it. Thus, the value of communication became a lesson from the pandemic for me.

And one more lesson. The pandemic proved that Einstein’s constructions about the transformation of time are completely true. I have never had such a density of life as during the pandemic. Time has condensed, it literally shrank! And, paradoxically, in this situation of condensed time much more can be done than before.

Who would have thought! If someone had told me that I would zoom — never in my life!

We found ourselves in a world of the different normality. The leading art of this world is to live with other, dissimilar people. Therefore, the paradox of our time, which has not been fully realized yet, is a massive demand for uniqueness. The crisis we are facing now is a network challenge. It is impossible to get out of the network crisis with the help of vertical control systems. Only horizontal communications and network self-organization will help to find a way out of the crisis. Let’s remember a principle developed by Prigogine: in the situation of bifurcation even a weak signal can change the system evolution. We must make the most of the power of weak ties. That is why today, more than ever, Kropotkin’s ideas about cooperation and mutual assistance are coming to the fore.
The Garden of Forking Paths

My favorite symbol is the Garden of Forking Paths. We should allow diversity and learn to choose off-beaten tracks. Only living things can swim against the current. Each of us has a unique set of capabilities. Culture will emerge from the crisis and become resilient if it learns to be tolerant to uncertainty, strangeness and dissimilarity. How would a man differ from an animal if there were only necessary in him — and nothing odd? In no case should one discard alternative ways of development, including apocalyptic ones. I aimed to show the value of these pathways, rather than homeostatic schemes, in my article.

Emergent evolution, that is, sudden, which we have encountered lately, has peculiar characteristics. These are the properties of diversity, variability, redundancy and anticipation, that is, pre-adaptability. It requires a readiness for something that never happened, and the ability to construct reality ourselves. As Nikolai Bernstein put it, a task gives birth to an organ. Many reserve opportunities are being taken out of our evolution today. They used to be hidden in us earlier. And now they can help us find a way out of the crisis. For humanity this crisis, with all its complexity and tragedy, is time to develop new perspectives.

When we talk today about boundaries, up to a distance of two steps between people, we deal with forced atomization. But at the same time let’s monitor all information flows. Each of us is looking at what happens in Rome, Madrid or New York. Today we are interested in planetary identity — more than ever. My position, or, if you like, a value belief, is that the atomization has instrumental nature, it is only a measure of social hygiene, established for the current period, that helps to buy time to cope with coronavirus. But the focus on impenetrability of borders, on disintegration down to social atoms, will not bring success in the long run. When we share our thoughts and make our research findings transparent, we develop a collaborative model of success. It is the only thing to bring an end to the crisis.

Different analysts in different cultures are beginning to see clearly that joint efforts, mutual aid and cooperation are becoming key values and a basis for strategy of behavior in the crisis. Reflection of mutual assistance as a factor of evolution becomes a direction for overcoming the crisis. This implies building horizontal ties that will structure human communities.

In my opinion, the last person who knew what is “good” and what is “bad” was Vladimir Vladimirovich Mayakovsky, I mean. In this respect, I can say that the current crisis is a productive one, no matter how paradoxical and difficult it is. It will bring to the fore the pre-adaptive properties of our evolution that will allow us to overcome this crisis. On its other side, we will find ourselves in an era of normalcy that will be understood differently. In this regard, this crisis functions as a catalyst for new opportunities that will give rise to a new phase in human history.
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